1. Origins

AV The true name of these Island Caribs is Callínago. These are the cannibals and man-eaters about whom the Spanish complained so much that they were untameable and that they devoured such prodigious numbers of them and their allies. For this is what the Spanish say in their books. However, I do not wish to have them slandered any more, for I have no grounds to complain about their cruelty. On the contrary I will freely attest their mildness towards me, although it is a sweet cruelty to be chewed, devoured, and torn to pieces in the service of God. The women call them Calliponam. [165]

Caribs of South America are called Galíbi. I have finally learned from captains on the island of Dominica that the words Galíbi and Carib were names that the Europeans had given them. Their true name was Callínago although they designated themselves only with the words ouhaóbanum and balouéhounum: that is to say either 'from the islands' AV3 and 'from the continent.' The Island Caribs were Galibis from South America who branched off in order to conquer the islands. The captain who led them was small in size but great in courage. He did not eat much and drank even less. He exterminated all the native inhabitants, but kept the women, who have always retained something of their language in order to perpetuate the memory of these conquests. He made them carry the heads of his enemies into the caves among the rocks which are at the edge of the sea, and the French have found these. This was done in order that fathers could show them to their children and they successively to their posterity. They told me that they had had kings, and that the word abouyou was the name of those who carried them on their shoulders. The Caribs who had their carbet [men's house] at the foot of Soufrière on Dominica beyond d'Amichon were descended from them. But I did not ask them if the dynasty had begun with this captain who had conquered the islands nor when these kings had ceased to rule. [225]

[159] The Caribs do not use gayac as a remedy for either yaws or the 224 great pox. When they make forked posts of gayac wood to support their houses they say they make it for themselves and their descendants. Actually this wood seems indestructible. For their children they make

[For their children they make
[Cgrotesque dolls out of it[2] which are called mánlira, the same name as the wood. I have taken some of these dolls out from under rocks where they had been hidden by the savages who had been exterminated. The Caribs did not dare to look at these because of superstition. These dolls were just as beautiful as if they had been newly made. I believe this wood sinks to the bottom of water like a stone. [354]

Caribs who come from other islands are also people of this
[101] nation. [310]

2. Religious Beliefs

954 The Caribs explain the causes of all their misfortunes as due to
the gods of the boyes [shamans], or due to maboyas [evil spirits], or due to sorcerers. This is because the first are more feared than loved, and the second are hated. They often revenge themselves, sometimes mistakenly and very crudely, on those whom they believe to be the third and who are nothing less than sorcerers. I have seen an old
[271] man who was a little bald and who complained he had been bewitched -- as if people only became bald in this way. [271]

962 The boye sings to cause his gods to descend. When the Caribs
go to war, or when some are sick, they summon a boye. An offering is prepared and placed at the back of the hut which is always circular. A hammock is hung. The audience lines up along the side. The boye arrives, sometimes accompanied by a second boye, and begins to sing. One of the two boyes throws up tobacco smoke instead of incense, and by this means he causes his false god to descend. I have distinctly heard him when he falls like a sack of flour, but I have not heard the sound people say he makes with his fingers. The boye gives the god the hammock to sit in, and presents him the offering to eat and drink. This spirit of the darkness hates light and orders the fire to be smothered and all the openings through which daylight may pass to be filled, although the ceremony is always done at night. Once I attempted to enter with a fire brand in order to prevent this abomination from occurring, but the women stopped me. Many other times when I was walking around the place I heard a voice like "John in the Vineyard," which made me believe that there was trickery. I decided to find out the real facts and approached the spot without anyone's noticing me.

[2][i.e., of gayac wood -- Analyst]

hole through which they are only able to enter by stooping. The inside is never encumbered by beams and forked posts to support the house. Rooms, entrance hall, and plank floor are also absent. [354]

The cachíbou is a very smooth leaf, long as the arm and more than a foot wide, and it is quite rigid. The Caribs cut them and expose them to the sun, which causes them to harden. Next they fold them at the middle and arrange them over a reed split in two, overlapping every four inches. They attach them with mahot or some cords on the lath. This is their substitute for roof tile. This covering lasts them almost two years. It is beautiful from within, for you would assume it had been painted. This leaf also serves as their parasol, and it is used in their baskets, which are always double, being placed between the two layers to keep water from penetrating. [97] The boulénum are two big beams of wood on the inside of the roof. The cross rafters are fastened to them. The upper part of the house rests on notches made in these beams, which support the whole building. There are neither posts nor forks in the middle of the house so that one may walk about inside as in a market place, easily eight or ten men abreast. [90] Tabothíali are two little sticks which are tied together and which hold up two opposing rafters. The half reeds are on the outside. This tightens the leaves so that the wind will not blow them away. [115] The ticoúlouhi are the poles which are fitted lengthwise in the pirogue and support the planks on which one sits. They are also the encircling roof supports in the carbet. [461] With the top of the manhoúlou reed they cover the roofs of their houses. [351] The Caribs use monochíali leaves to cover their houses. The French call these reeds or tongues. [361]

There are old carbets which have only small forked posts and poles left and some banana leaves on them as a protection against the heat of the sun. [444] When they are working high in the mountains and are not able to return the same day they say, "I sleep in my garden." [54] "Enclose us, surround us with palisades for fear of our enemies." [187]

When the Caribs go to some other islands they know the camping places. They ordinarily choose locations where there is material for sheds, so they can set them up more easily, and where there are crabs or reefs. At these places game and fish are the most abundant and the easiest to obtain. [280] When the Caribs camp they set up some

415 stocks which lengthens and presses this basketry so much that by its
25 weight is easily draws out of the flour all of the water which is in it. The Caribs collect the water in a calabash and use it to cook their meats. Only the old Caribs know how to make this device. [356] The ócoícae is a basket loosely woven from ouálloman strips which they make at the same time as the make-like manioc press used to press their flour. [395] (This basket may have been used to contain the stone weights which would explain its manufacture in conjunction with the manioc press--Editors.)

The camoócoulou is a calabash made of grass which holds a full bucket of water. [107]

824 The comáti is a tree which the Caribs use by stripping and grating the under bark. They press out the juice which they mix with a little water, in order to dilute it so that it can be used. Then, when their ouálloman is prepared they tie its wooden supports right at the middle in order to make beautiful baskets. Next they varnish this gummy juice on half of it. Immediately after this beautiful black becomes dry they revarnish it again which makes it beautiful, shining, and so durable that unless you scrape it off it does not disappear. [175] Some urucu uniuixed with oil is used to redden the ouálloman reeds when they make baskets. [397]

412 The word tacháragle is used to refer to many tools. It may be an iron chisel, a cudgel of wood shaped like a wood chisel which they use to stuff oakum into seams, or it may be a kind of poker dipped into pitch to calk the boat. It is also a spindle with which the women spin, or it can be a stick used to pierce the earth for planting tobacco. [118] From the thorn of a palmetto they make a needle, as long as a finger, with which they make thread used for their sashes. This needle is also used in their hairdress. [114]

534 The Caribs cut certain tap roots, scoop them out, and make flutes. [186] They have three flutes arranged and attached together. I have seen two Caribs at a drinking party who decided to play it and danced to its cadence opposite to one another. They did this so well that our own dancers would scarcely excel them. [239]

302 he imagined it had been put there to sit upon. For this reason he took it from the table and put it on the bench. Then he sat on it. Realizing that everyone was laughing about it, he became angry and made us understand, indirectly, that he did not know how to behave among the French and would never return to visit us again.

This paint, although light, is useful, for it protects from sunburn and from brine which dries up and burns the skin, and warms them in the cold of the night. The chief benefit is the protection it offers against the mosquitos.

They don't wear a beard but rather pluck it hair by hair with the point of a knife, as I have said. If there is some left they shave it
● [303] with a grass which cuts like a razor. They all wear long hair like the women of Europe, and let a part of it hang on their forehead. It is cut like that of small girls. They also have strands of hair hanging past their temples. The rest of it is drawn to the back, combed, and adjusted neatly with a cotton string. At the end of this string are [fastened] either small tufts, thimbles, crystal, small white ornaments, or similar trinkets. In this tress of hair they stick feathers of all colors and sometimes make crowns around their heads with them.

304 All of the Caribs have their ears, lower lip, and septum of the
301 nose pierced. They pass long parrot feathers through the nose, which take the place of mustaches. They sometimes suspend from these feathers, small strips of brass as large as a fingernail. They pass hooks through their ear holes and through the holes in their lower lip. They wear long necklaces which hang to their stomachs. These necklaces are usually made with the teeth of agouti, cats, or leopards, and are very neatly strung on cotton cord. They also wear a whistle hung from the neck, made from the bone of an enemy.

301 The ornaments they prize the most are the caracolis or coulloucoli,
439 small strips of a low quality gold metal. It [the metal] has the quality of neither corroding nor tarnishing and this is the reason why the Caribs prise it so highly. Only the captains or their children wear them. It has been thought that these caracolis come from the islands of Hispaniola, otherwise called Santo Domingo. However, the Caribs assert the contrary and say they get them in trade from their enemies whom they call Allouagues. By means of certain agreements which the Caribs have with members of that nation, the caracolis are obtained

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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On the other hand, Caribs consider the white man's custom of 262
manuring land as disgusting, and would never knowingly eat food so 241
grown. The finding of dung in a provision ground is sufficient reason for abandoning a part or the whole of the cultivation. A serious dispute arose, while I was in the Reserve, because one family accused members of another family of leaving excrement on their land. Perhaps this is one more reason why the Caribs' gardens are so far from their dwellings.

There does not seem to be any hard and fast rule with regard to 462
the division of labor between the sexes, except such as physical fitness dictates. Hunting, fishing, sawing, land clearing, canoe and house building are obviously men's occupations, here as elsewhere. Work on the provision ground is fairly evenly shared. Twine and cords, torches, shark oil, Carib panniers, manioc sifters, and "coulevrine" are made by men usually, though not exclusively. Vegetable oil (palma Christi, known here as "carapat"), open, radial kitchen and garden baskets (corbeilles), the cleaning and (until recently) spinning of cotton, the preparation of farine and cassava bread—except for the grating of the manioc, at which the men often help—and all other household duties are women's work. Although a Carib be returning straight to his house after a fishing expedition, he expects his women folk to meet him on the shore and to carry the fish home. When compelled to carry a load himself, the Carib man always puts it on his shoulder or back, whereas the women have adopted the Creole negro custom of bearing burdens on the head.

River bathing is a daily habit with all Caribs, but once a month 575
the Carib man takes a special kind of bath in the privacy of his own 754
home with water in which certain herbs have soaked. The names of three so used are: the sensitive plant (*Mimosa pudica*), sou marquè [illegible]
(*Oxalis bisepaularis*), and kudjuruk (or kuguruk—unidentified). The bath must be taken on the night when the moon is new or "good" (that is, for planting), and its object is that of a spiritual antiseptic, said to counteract and defeat the evil effects of possible sorcery or piai directed against the bather during the preceding moon.

A few simple remedies used by the Caribs of Dominica today are, 757
in the case of— 478

Local inflammation: Half of an amber-haired green papaya applied hot as a poultice.

Internal contusion: The gum of the lowland red gommier (*Bursera gummifera*) as a plaster.

Wounds and cuts: The pounded heart of the kana tree(?), together with salt. Shark oil and pimento leaves are also used, as is the fat of the Tête-Chien lion.

Flux, or intestinal chill: An infusion of the bark or roots of the wild white guava.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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walls of hardwood boards and roof of shingles (preferably from ca- 342
cimier: *Ormosia dasyneyra*, or bois lézard: *Vitex divaricata*). This type of hut is found, with variations, all through the islands, and does not appear to be of native origin. The wood is usually cut and hewn into shape by the future owner, the foundations dug with the help of friends, the house raised (or mounted) with the assistance of a professional carpenter (who may take 25 or 30 shillings for his work), and the roof covered in 1 day at an almost ceremonious gathering of by no means abstemious helpers and friends.

The following are among the commoner woods employed by the 342
Caribs in house building: 324

Beams and rafters.—Mangle rouge (*Rhizophora mangle* L.) and mangle blanc, ermoquel (*Bucida buceras* L.).

Boards.—Bois lancier (*Chimarrhis cymosa*), bois rivière (*Chimarrhis cymosa*), bois sept ans (*Meliosma* sp.), cuyer (*Zanthoxylon tropicale*).

Posts.—Balata (*Mimusops* sp.), carapite ("black-heart," possibly *Amanoa caribaea* (?), not to be confused with carapate).

Rafters.—Anguille (*Andira inermis*), manicier (*Ormosia dasycarpa*).

Latex.—Bois rivière (*Chimarrhis cymosa*).

Beams.—Bois lézard (*Vitex divaricata*), lancier rouge (*Goudotia parviflora*), lancier rouge (a sweet-smelling wood of reddish hue, large tree. Not the so-called rose laurel of other islands).

Basketry

Together with the building of dugout canoes, basketry now consti- 285
tutes the Caribs' main industry and source of revenue. Apart from those destined for sale, they make other articles for domestic use of a superior quality, and which seldom are seen outside the reserve.

The materials used today, and the manner of their preparation, are as follows:

(1) Lacoumas or, more correctly, Pourumá (*Jacquinia arcuata*), 285
the itirite of the Guiana Indians. A slender, palmlike reed with long 324
spatulate leaves, attaining from 12 to 15 feet in height. Cut and tied in bundles of 70 to 100 stems and brought down to the coast, where it is spread out on the beach to dry in the sun for several days. Without this process, during which it acquires an agreeable red russet color, the stems would soon become brittle and unworkable. Some of them are subsequently steeped for a couple more days in "mudholes" by the riverbank, where they take on a fine shiny black. The blackened stems are, however, less strong than those not so treated. Before use, each stem is split in four or six strands which are then drawn between a knife blade and the finger until the pith is removed and they have been made fine enough for the work in view. If white strands are wanted, as for the linings of Carib panniers, they may be obtained by scraping the outer surface of red strands, or merely by laying them inner side uppermost.

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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285 (2) Roseau (*Gynerium saccharoides*), a sugarcanelike reed found
824 near water. The midrib of the leaf is peeled, bleached by laying it in the dew, and dried in the sun. While inferior to larouman in strength, it is of a purer white, and is therefore used in small decorative baskets and for plaiting hats. Its cane, employed for edging Carib panniers, is merely peeled and scraped.

(3) Racines-palmiste, the aerial, reddish colored roots of the mountain palmiste (*Euterpe montana*, *Areca regia*). Used especially for making shoulder carry-alls. Cut, peeled, and scraped, then split into two or three strands according to their size and to the worker's requirements.

(4) Mibi (*Stigmatopiptilum puberum*), liane-pomme (*Marcgravia* sp.), liane grise, calabouli, and corde caco are the local names of varying and differently used lianas. The first requires only to be scraped, after which it may be dyed yellow or mauve—in the first instance by steeping it in the expressed juice of a small-bush carrotlike fruit, locally called saffron; in the second case, by soaking it in an infusion of the leaves of a small or medium sized tree known as "tan" (?)—not *Byrsonima spicata*, which is also known as "tan." Liane-pomme (the water lemon of the English Creoles) is only peeled before use, while the others require no preparation.

(5) Latanier (*Thrinax* sp.). The septa of the mature leaves are split in two and worked before becoming too dry.

(6) Bamboo. Dried indoors and split into fine strands.

(7) Balisier (*Heliconia bihai* and *H. caribbaea*). The midrib is sun-dried and parallel lengths tied with twine to form simple roll-up mats.

(8) Bakua (*Pandanus* sp.). As (5).

(9) Vétiver (*Vetiveria odorata*). The leaf is bleached by boiling, dried in the sun, and split in two for plaiting into hats, etc.

285 (1) Carib panniers (pagira) are made in wicker ("Armadille")
415 pattern, multiple weft, and in duplicate. The inner lining, or "mama," is all white, while the outer covering, or "skin," is usually worked in two or more colors (fig. 17). Between these two component parts a layer of sun-dried cachibou (*Maranta cuskibou*) or balisier leaves is arranged carefully to render the basket watertight. The orthodox style consists of a receptacle and a cover (both in duplicate), the latter having two-thirds the depth and a foundation of four strands more than the former, over which it fits tightly. Made in all sizes and shapes, the commonest average, without the cover, is about 20 by 24 inches by 18 inches deep. Some are as large as an old-fashioned trunk, while others, of miniature dimensions, are made in "niches" of 9 or 12 baskets that fit into one another after the manner of a Chinese puzzle. A game-basketlike variety of identical construction, but whose width is about one-third its height and a quarter its length (so

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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stumps. Partly as a protection against the depredations of domestic animals (hens, pigs, goats, cows) and partly because, under primitive methods of culture, the ground becomes exhausted and a new garden must be made every 2 or 3 years, the provision grounds are for the most part situated beyond the coastal hill crest on the slopes of the Paqua Valley, some miles distant from the homes of their owners. Practically the only implements of culture used today are the cutlass (machete) and the digging stick—a strong, sharp-pointed stick popularly known as "lochette" (Carib: koyéré).

Manioc (*Manihot utilissima*) still forms the principal crop, although its importance as a staple diet has diminished in the last half century. Several varieties are known and distinguished by the following local appellations: manioc noir (the commonest), m. blanc, m. violet, m. bleu, m. beurre, m. 100 livres, m. doux, camanioc. The last two are nonpoisonous and may be eaten as vegetables. Manioc is planted by cuttings—usually by groups of three to one pit—and takes from 1 year to 18 months to reach maturity. The process of farine and cassava making is described elsewhere.

Next to manioc, the most important tubers cultivated are: chou (*Xanthosoma aggitifolium* Sch., malanga, tannia, taya) of various species, varieties of yam (*Dioscorea alata, piloviscula, multiflora, Cayennensis, trifida, tuberosa*—blanc and de l'eau, bâtard, marron, à piquante noire, couch-couche, yam bonda, etc.), of sweet potato (red, yellow, white), of *Maranta* (red, white), *Solanum*, and *Cipura*. Squash and Indian corn are also grown, but do not form a staple food, as with the Indians of central and southern North America. The latter is never ground into flour, but is roasted and eaten whole, rather after the manner of a delicacy or sweetmeat. Bananas, plantains, and breadfruit (*Artocarpus*) of the ordinary and of the "chestnut" (*seminifera*) varieties are grown and eaten extensively. Various fruit trees and other utilitarian trees and bushes are cultivated around and near the houses. Such are: cotton,[1] coffee, cocoa, palma Christi or castor-oil plant, roucou (*Bixa orellana*), calabash (*Crescentia cujete*), guava, mango, sugarcane, papaya, various species of *annona* (*muricata, reticulata, squamosa*—cornsoul, cachiman, pomme canelle, etc.), and la pitte or silk grass (*Bromelia* sp.) for the making of twine and fishing lines, *Phyllanthus conami* or "nivrage" for fish poisoning, Malvinia or "soap bush," sapodilla, and pineapples (of which several small species grow wild in the woods).

The clearing of the land is done by the men, the rest of the work (planting, weeding, digging, and gathering) being divided among both sexes largely according to individual taste or family arrangement.

[1] Two varieties—so-called black and white, according to fuzziness color. The former is somewhat better.

7: Taylor & Moore E-4, 5 (1930-1937) 1948
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A NOTE ON DOMINICAN BASKETRY AND ITS ANALOGUES*

DOUGLAS TAYLOR AND HARVEY C. MOORE

TYPES AND TECHNIQUES

(By Douglas Taylor)

285 BASKETRY of the Island Carib is relatively little known, and descriptions of the materials and technical details are almost wholly unrecorded. The following notes are offered to remedy this situation.

•§24 285 *Ischnosiphon arouma*, the lárumą of the Dominica Carib (< Island Carib -nalumą), is today found growing wild in the rain-forests of the island's interior, although, for greater convenience, basket-makers sometimes plant it nearer home. This little palm here attains maturity in about a year at a height of 12 to 15 feet. After flowering, the leafy crowns gradually bend and bear the slender stems to earth, send forth roots, and so propagate the parent stock. The Carib recognize a secondary variety known as lárumą tukunię which, they say, does not exceed five feet in height. Because it provides such short strands, it can be utilized only for making small ornamental baskets, for which work it is, moreover, especially suited by reason of the facility with which it can be split.

When they have attained their maximum growth, the stems are cut; split into two or four segments and most of the soft pith removed; then tied in bundles of from 70 to 100 stems and carried down to the coast, where they are spread out in the sun to dry.[1] When they have acquired by this process the reddish brown color characteristic of the island's basketry, they are tied back into bundles, ready, for the most part, to be stored until required on the cross-beams or suspended from the ridge-pole of the basket-makers hut or moving. When black strands are wanted for decorative purposes, a smaller bundle of sun-

* Because of difficulties of communication, Mr Taylor has had no opportunity to read proof of this article—Editor.

171 1 Apparently this procedure is entirely foreign to Guiana, where only freshly cut stems are used, either green or—after scraping off the outer skin-like bark—stained with various coloring matter. Both indeed agree that exposure to the sun would render the lárumą brittle and useless. On the other hand, the Dominica Carib claim that strands made from green stems would soon spoil, and that work done with such would "open," that is, show gaps owing to subsequent shrinkage. There appears to be a degree of reason on both sides: strands woven while green tending to shrink or go unsightly; while sun-dried stems give strands which are of course more apt to break off when much bent. Perhaps this is one reason why "heat-glaze pottery" technique is unknown, and why the making of cassava-squeezers (sebucans, or matapi) is almost a lost art.

mountains surround narrow ravines, where spring water trickles. The country is almost entirely wooded; it is virgin forest in all its vigor, and the most varied species grow there side by side; the imposing silk-cotton tree, Eriodendron anfractuosum, the large-leaved chestnut tree, Sloanea massoni, the logwood tree, Haematoxylon campechianum, the mahogany tree, Swietenia mahogany, the anarra-tree, Bixa orellana mingle with palms of all sorts, gigantic bamboos and a multitude of arborescent ferns. All these trees are interlaced with endless lianas, and in their midst, giant like, rise splendid gum-trees, Dacryodes hexandra, from whose trunks one can cut an entire canoe. The district is crossed, at some distance from the coast, by a road which is well-defined but not practicable for carriages, which is part of the road which makes a complete circuit of the island. In the part which crosses the Carib territory, one /135/ finds a few paved sections, which date from the French occupation. The climate is humid and it rains frequently, even during the dry season. The temperature varies between 25° and 32° C., but the ocean breeze moderates the heat at all times and in the mountains there is always a certain freshness.

This part of Dominica is today inhabited by about a hundred Caribs of pure stock and about 400 mestizos, who have some black blood.

The Carib is of medium height, but has fine muscles and is strong; the women are noticeably smaller than the men. Their eyes are black, comparatively small and somewhat set back, the cheek-bones prominent, the teeth white and well-set, the hair black, straight, shiny, quite long, but generally cut amongst the men; the latter are usually beardless, although some have, nevertheless, a short moustache. The skin is quite light or tends to be somewhat brown, but it is no darker than that of Europeans who live in the open in regions where the sun is very hot. Formerly the Caribs were completely naked and it was their custom to completely stain their bodies red with roucou (1) diluted /136/ with carapat oil, which protected them *against insect bites,*

1. Roucou or rocou, from the word urucu used by the natives of Brazil, is the word for the grains of the roucou tree, from which they extract a red dye. The roucou tree, a shrub of 4 to 5 meters in height, is very common in the Antilles.

blacks and European creoles still use it today, not only in Dominica, but also in Guadeloupe and in Martinique. The Caribs, as a matter of fact, make these baskets not only for their own use, but they also sell them in order to obtain articles which they need, knives, hatchets, pieces of cloth, alcohol, etc. The Caribs formerly used the matatou, a kind of square coverless basket, supported by four feet, and the canoli, a kind of hod used by the women to carry potatoes, bananas, fish, and other food products to the hut.

The diet of the Caribs is however not complex; it is almost exclusively vegetable, and is supplemented from time to time by a few crabs or by fish. The plants they eat are cultivated by them or are gathered in the forest. The most important are the yam, Dioscorea sativa, the sweet potato, Convolvulus batatas, the Caribbean cabbage, Colocasia esculenta or Xanthosoma sagittaefolia, and finally the cassava, Manihot dulcis and Manihot edulis, from whose roots they extract farina with the aid of a very primitive press and which is used by them in making the cassava, a kind of baked pancake which formerly took the place of bread in all the Antilles. The trees which supply them with fruits are numerous: these are the mango-trees, the guava-trees, the coco-nut trees, the banana trees, and the famous bread-fruit tree, Artocarpus (I) incisa, imported from Asia and Polynesia but

1. From ἄρτος, bread and καρπός, fruit.

long since acclimated in the Antilles. The forest supplies them with another article of exchange, a tree, (called the "Bay tree" by the English) whose leaves they gather, which are taken to Roseau and thence sent to Europe or the United States, where an essence is extracted for use in perfume-making.

Meat is an unimportant part of their diet and the few animals they raise; pigs of Spanish or /138/ French origin, and domestic poultry, hens and ducks serve more as articles of exchange than as food. Even formerly when they did not object to human flesh, it seems that they used it only rarely; when following a war they had massacred a large number of enemies, they thought it only fitting to eat them. Furthermore, Father Labat is full of indulgence towards them on this point, and although they had once offered him the smoked arm of an Englishman, probably the remains of a feast, he finds it hard to apply to them the epithet of cannibals.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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being crown ?], puis on les en frotte partout où ils sont incisés, pensez s'ils ont froid! Pour les restaurer on leur donne à manger le coeur de leur oyseau seulement; et craignt qu'il ne leur cause quelque indigestion, dès le grand matin, ils vont à un canari plein d'infusion de tabac, qu'ils boivent à longs traits, et qui leur fait rendre tripes et boudins.

Entre tous les convives il y en a 6 ou 8 qui se frottent tout le corps de gomme d'Elemie [*Dacryodes excelsa* Vahl] encore liquide et dégouttante de l'arbre, à laquelle on attache du duvet, ou petites plumes du frezo-en-queue [*Pharetra urubitinga*], et on couronne leurs testes de grandes plumes d'Arras, puis on les fait danser, deux à deux, autour du Cadaver, l'un entendant son bras droit sur les espaulles de l'autre, et l'autre sa gauche autour du col de son compagnon. Les autres suivent en la mesme posture, et en donnent deux à deux jusques a ce qu'ils soient arrivez au lieu où ils trouvent des grandes calebasses pleines d'ouicou, qu'il faut avaller jusqu' à la derniere goutte, encore qu'ils en donnent cevez.

Other authors tell us that the "gligli" and "malfini" hawks were the birds usually employed in these rites; that the heart was dried over the fire before it was eaten, and the feet often set aside to be worn in an amulet; that the initiate's head and neck were anointed with oil; and that water, and tobacco and roku *(Bixa orellana)* leaves, as well as *Capsicum*, were crushed up with the bird's body to be rubbed on the men's backs.

No official form of divorce is recorded, but there is plenty of evidence to show that separation and remarriage of wives took place, consequent upon incompetence, neglect, or desertion on the part of the husband. Children always remained, in such cases, with the mother. Widows and widowers were free to remarry when and whom they pleased.

As soon as they are dead [says Breton] they paint them red [with roku], comb them, and, if they are of consequence, wrap them in a fine cotton bed, and in the middle of the hut dig a round hole of a depth proportionate to the person, they give them (which is that which they had in their mother's womb) [Labat says: "round on a little round, elbows on knees and chin in cupped hands"] into which they are lowered upon a piece of board placed there, then covered with another such upon which earth is thrown and trod down hard, the while they sing their sorrow and lament in a lugubrious tone. This they continue last thing in the evening and at daybreak in the morning for some time. They do not forget their custom of putting bread and wine [manaca-cakes and wine] on the grave, nor to light a fire all around it for quite a time. After a year they return to weep, remove the boards, throw and trample down earth upon the decayed body, drink the rest of the day and night, and sometimes quit the house and habitation, as I saw them do after the death of their captain, Henri Couen.

Personal belongings, other than those buried with the deceased, usually were burnt.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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Later estimates are, for St Vincent: Philip Warner's "3000 Negroes and no other island as many Indians," and Stapleton's "1500 [warriors], 600 of these bowmen are Negroes," both taken from the Calendar of State Papers for the year 1676.[24] These figures may be compared with la Borde's estimated 4000 in 1700 for the two islands of Dominica and St Vincent together, i.e., after two attempts by the British under Stapleton in 1683 to exterminate the Caribs in both islands.

"The staple food of the *Carib* was the crab. . . . They roasted the meat, seasoning it with a sauce called taumalin, a mixture of lime juice and pounded peppers with the greenish meat next to the shell of the male crab. . . . For the seasoning of fish and meat they used a sauce called coui, which was made by boiling the juice of manioc with crushed peppers, lime juice, and manioc flour."[25] As the Carib word for food does not include fish, meat, or game, which may be called by a term meaning *food adjuncts*, crab—fond of it as the Caribs were and still are—cannot properly be called their staple food, which was and is cassava, a bread or bannock made from manioc meal. Incidentally, the manioc shrub is propagated by cuttings of two or three feet long taken from the stem of an old plant, and not, as Rouse would have it in speaking of the Arawak, from the root.[26] The Carib may have taken to citrus fruits before 1700, but neither the sauce which the modern Carib call [tumáli] in Dominica and [dumáli] in Central America, nor that known to Breton as "*tâma sauce, nitoumâlem ma sauce*," calls for the employment of lime juice as an ingredient. Breton says "it is so called because the women usually make it with tomali of crab, which is oily"; and he refers us to "*tacioumti poiveé*," where we find:

> They put into a little earthen pot together with manchanche [that is, manioc starch], forty or fifty peppers [*Capsicum frutescens*] as big as the thumb, fish-scales, fish-bones, or the bones of agouti which they have gnawed, boil the lot in manioc-water (which is poisonous), and that is the sauce in which they dip their cassava (when they have nothing else). . . .[27]

The name of this sauce has been incorporated into the English language as "tum'li (o) y, s. Soft greenish substance (called the liver) in lobster, used as sauce. (Carib)." (Concise Oxford Dictionary). Such sauce would naturally be served in the receptacle still known in the West Indies as a coui [kuí], and made from the half of a calabash (*cujete*)[27a] cut in two lengthwise. Although this is one

24 *Calendar of State Papers*, 1675-1676, no. 882, and p. 498.
25 *Handbook*, p. 350.
26 *Handbook*, p. 322.
27 Breton, *Dictionaire Caraïb-Français*, p. 108.
27a Crescentia *cujete*.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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of the words black-listed by Breton as "point mots Sauvages," he himself gives what is probably the parent Carib form under "*cassi à boire couleures*," phonetically ['kwɛkɛ].

Rouse omits to mention two important classes of kitchen utensils: the mortar (*ianna*), and the manioc trough (*batiia*), both carved out of single pieces of wood, the latter being just as important to the manioc complex as the stone-chip grater (*ele*), the basketry squeezer (*rukiima*) and sifter (*bibiile*), and the cassava-plate or griddle (*bunali*).

"Corn, sweetpotatoes, yams, beans, and peppers also were cultivated, the corn being made into bread as among the *Arawak*." Rouse elsewhere mentions corn beer.[28] Corn is and apparently always was of very secondary importance to the Carib, and it seems doubtful whether the Carib ever made much use of bread or beer made from it. Breton has this to say about it:

> After it has grown, that is to say two months after it has been sown, the Savages gather and roast it on the coals, then eat it. The Galibi make from it a fermented drink which is not inferior to beer. The French use it to feed poultry, while some turn it into flour, which they mix with an equal quantity of wheat flour, and make with this a fine bread which tastes quite good.[29]

Breton elsewhere describes at length the making of cassava-beer (*ukiu*), and speaks of a beverage of boiled cassavas in connection with the couvade. On the other hand, the only use made of corn by the modern Dominica Carib is that described in the first sentence of the above quotation from Breton. Botanists usually describe yams (*Dioscorea* spp.) as of Old World origin, but it now seems certain that a species of *Dioscorea trifida*, known to the Carib as *kilio*, and formerly much employed by them, was American. Two other food plants, not listed by Rouse but fairly important to the Carib of Breton's day and at the present time, are *Xanthosoma* spp. (*uiku*) and pumpkin (*uuuliama*). By "gruybe," Rouse presumably means *guava*, Carib: *kuiibu*.

We are told that hammocks were "made of a network of cotton thread," and that "the weaving of cloth may not have been an original part of Carib culture. The women had wooden spindles for making thread and used belt looms for weaving it. They stretched the warp threads from a stick on one side of the house to a stick on the other; then two women wove in the weft, beating the threads down with a sword shaped stick."[30] Breton, on the other hand, describes the

28 *Handbook*, pp. 551-557.
29 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 555.
30 *Handbook*, pp. 552, 555.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

weaving of hammocks on a heavy frame, similar to that employed in Guiana today, and which leaned against the wall of the house. He says:

The Savages cut four big, round, smooth pieces of wood; two of which they lean and secure against the house-runners, while the two others are bound tightly across them, one above and one below, in proportion to the size of the bed, and around which the women arrange their cotton thread, which they handle skillfully, but without hurrying themselves over it. They leave half a foot unwoven at both extremities, and this they divide into little bundles, through which they attach a little cord called ehemoho, then bend it back at arm's length and pass it through another bundle, bend it again, and so on to the last bundle. Then they pass a heavier cord through the upper bends of the smaller cord, and this is the one by which they hang it wherever they may be to protect themselves from snakes and ants and other harmful beasts.[31]

Labat describes Carib hammocks seen some fifty years later as "une pièce de grosse toile de coton"; and goes on to say how, once the warp was set up, the women were

obliged to pass their ball of thread under and over the warp threads, one after another, and to beat the weft down with a sort of knife made of heavy hard wood so as to make all the threads get into their places and render the work even.

From the above it would appear that bobbins were not in general use; but la Borde speaks of a "roller" at the bottom of the frame, which the women turned as the weaving progressed, and states explicitly that the ends of the warp threads were left unwoven, and were not cut on completion of the hammock. From the above descriptions, as well as from modern Guiana practice, it is evident that this referred, not to a cloth-beam, but to a head-stick, which must have been employed, as otherwise the hammock would have had to be cut on completion, and there would have been no bundles of loops through which to pass the "little cord."

"The paint, urucú (roucou), was made by mixing oil with boiled and ground seeds from the bixa plant."[32] *Bixa orellana* L., Carib: kanáwa, in the men's, and: bíla, in the women's speech, is a small tree. The dye is obtained from the waxy red aril surrounding each of the seeds, which are clustered in a sort of pod. After boiling, according to Breton, the water was allowed to cool and the seeds rubbed between the hands to remove this aril, which then settled at the bottom of the water in the form of a waxlike cake. The prepared paint, known as ñoñokali or

31 Breton, op. cit., pp. 193-195.
32 Handbook, p. 352.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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302 urukámbai, "closes the pores, prevents the seawater from drying on their skins, keeps off mosquitoes, and kills chigoes."[33]

114 285 [829] Carib basketry was and still is made from *Ischnosiphon arouma* (Aublet) Koernicke, the "ouallitimo" of Breton's or the uariná of our own time and spelling, and not, as Rouse says, from "Latania" (presumably an anglicization of French latanier, from Carib alátani, which is the small fan-palm, *Coccothrinax martinicensis* Beccari), whose leaves served as thatching and for making rough sunshades, umbrellas, bags, etc., but could not possibly be employed in the typical wicker pattern and twilled basketry of the Carib. As in Breton's time, so today Carib baskets have a double wall and cover like those of the Taíno described by Rouse,[34] but such baskets are and may be rendered waterproof only by the insertion of one or more intermediary layers of leaves. The *Mytilus edulis* is not found in the Lesser Antilles today, and it seems probable that the "mussel" whose shells were used, according to Rouse,[35] in scraping utensils employed for basketry, refers to some other species.

[525] 114 411 Although it may not be possible, as Rouse says, to substantiate Gower's statement that descent was matrilineal among the Island Carib, this feature is at least implicit in the kinship terminology.

114 595 Breton is in disagreement with Rouse's authorities on several points concerning the life cycle. Of a husband's relations with his wives, he says:

> they [the wives] have their turn month and month about, even when they are pregnant; after childbirth they [the husbands] remain without seeing them for a good while, for fear of harming the child.[36]

[845] In seeming contradiction, Rouse says that sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy, and does not mention post-puerperal abstinence.[37] The solution may perhaps be found in the attitude of the modern Carib father, who says that while abstinence during pregnancy is a matter of taste, intercourse during the forty-day 114 946 period following birth would be injurious to the child. Rouse notes that the accounts of the couvade vary considerably, his own being "taken largely from Davies, with supplemental data from Le Breton." "For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he con-

33 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
34 *Handbook*, p. 527.
35 *Handbook*, p. 534.
36 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
37 *Handbook*, p. 537.

13: Hodge & Taylor

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824

[For information on the ethnobotany of the Callinago, see category 116, pp. 522-523, 525-624.]

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-S (1930-1956) 1957
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137 declined in numbers. Many of the more desirable species are *arbres de chasse*, the distribution of their fruits aided by native doves and forest pigeons. The extinction of such «hunter's trees» tends to reduce the avian population. The inevitable result is a depletion of both fauna and flora.

177 All these are signs that Dominica may no longer continue to be a natural West Indian reservoir of wild life. The Caribs are also in danger. Negro infiltration and the coming to the Indian Reserve of a church, of a school, and of a police station have led not only to the abandonment of the Carib language but also to the loss of much of the tribe's stock of nature-lore.

The opening up of new land has pushed the forest much further from the Caribs' homes than it was even thirty years ago. Difficulty in obtaining from the forest those raw materials needed in basketry and in dugout canoe building has brought about a
[241] gradual decline of these and allied crafts. One result is that the Caribs now have more time to spend tending imported crops planted in their provision grounds. These gardens, like all others in Dominica, are cultivated without deep digging or mounding on the primitive system of clearing and burning the forest, gathering one or two crops, and moving farther afield. Another result
[224] of the retreat of the forest is a decrease in the number of hunters. These men were naturally the best acquainted with those wild plants which could be of use while in the woods. Moreover many «medicines» and vegetable «charms» were operative for success in the chase; and the knowledge of the virtues of such plants
● [328] remained the property of individual hunters or of their families. The loss of the hunter class has thus meant the loss of much plant-lore.

177 The addition of an extension to the Imperial Road (the principal
99 high road of Dominica), which now practically cuts the island in two, will probably complete the process of culture disintegration and of forest disintegration. With these will go still more of the plant-lore and, as elsewhere in the West Indies, the road system may even lead to the extinction of many interesting species.

121 From the above it is easy to see that an ethnobotanical paper on the Island Carib is timely. The value of ethnobotany as an aid in tracing the origin and migrations of peoples and in ex-

[text continues on p. 58 - Ruth]

825

825 ETHNOZOOLOGY--notions about animals (e.g., mammals, birds, reptiles, fish, crustaceans, insects); ideas about particular animals (e.g., snakes, fireflies); technological and other cultural uses of wild animals and their products; native terms for animals; associated behavior patterns (e.g., avoidance of snakes); etc. See also:

Collecting, taming, and fishing 33
Animal husbandry 33
Public health and sanitation 744
Remedies for snakebite 753
Germ theory of disease 763
Vaccine and vaccination 764
Antidotes 774
Native terms 136
Proper names of animals 142
Animal divination 778
Taxonomy 81, 770
Animal sacrifices 788
Development of scientific zoology 815

C 101 the women's language. However, to make some distinction between themselves and the people of the mainland, they call the latter balouõouri, from the word ballouõ, which means mainland; thus a callinago of the mainland is distinguished in the same way as one would classify a Frenchman as a Parisian or a Langrois. We call those people of the mainland who are friends of our savages Gallybis [Galibis] —and call our savages Carafbes [Caribs].

C 173 If you ask the latter why they separated from the mainlanders and moved to the islands, they can give no reason. However, they all say that their first father, Callinago, left the mainland with his family and settled in Dominica. There he had a long line of descendants, and the nephews of his nephews, with extreme cruelty, C [625] poisoned him. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akaiouman and which is still very much alive in their river. At least this fable shows that they are descended from the people of the mainland.

C P 174 Several of the French believe that there were earlier inhabitants of these islands whom the Caribs chased away. This belief is founded upon the fact (and it is even certain according to the savages) that in some of the islands there are still survivors of these people, who retreated to the mountains and who are white like the French and wear long beards. Monsieur d'Esnambuc, governor of Saint Christopher, assured Father Raymond [Breton] that there were some on Saint Christopher. The Caribs affirm [47] that there are some at Guadeloupe and that they dwell above the large river at Goyave and at Grande-Terre. It is certain that there are some at Dominica because they are often seen there. The first time Father Raymond was C [127 at Dominica in 1642, the Caribs had captured a man, a woman, and 56] a girl of these people by surprise. They killed and ate the man, and enslaved the woman and girl. Last year, on the same day Father Raymond arrived, the mountaineers had made a raid, burned a cabin, and carried off a few household goods.

C 173 P 174 Our Caribs, however, say in one of their trusted traditions that they killed the Allouagues, (first) inhabitants of the islands, (1)

1. Roman version: "Our Caribs... say... that they are the first inhabitants of the islands and that the people in the mountains... etc."

After the god of a boye has drunk well he says "I am drunk, much hindered, and embarrassed." When a sacrifice is offered to him he calls his companions. They drink up the contents of all of the large pots, or at least pretend to do so. When they wish to leave, they practice a deception upon the hearing of the assembly. They [146] tip their calabash drinking cups back into the large pots, and according to the sound it makes you might think that the pots are empty. However, the next morning these same pots are full which seems to the Caribs to be a great miracle. The old men and the most important among them gather to drink it. But the false gods have ordered it to be drunk upon an empty stomach, and also under the condition that they have not touched their wives during the night. You might judge it to be a monkey trick of the devil to imitate our sacrament. [148]

The Caribs believe that the moon is a man, and that once upon a time the moon saw a girl while she was asleep and he made her pregnant. This obliged the mother to give the girl a person to watch over her. The guardian surprised the moon one night and blackened [186] him with genipap, in order to recognize the culprit. The Caribs say this is the reason for the spots on the moon which appear today. The child born from the girl was named Hiâli, and he later laid the first foundations of the Carib nation. The hummingbird was chosen to [825] carry Hiâli to his father, and having faithfully performed its task, it obtained as a reward a beautiful crest for its head and its feathers were turned many colors. [293] The boyes have enough temerity to claim that they fly up to the moon in the heavens. One day a boye told me about his trip there. I recognized his foolishness when he said the moon looked like open rocks with trickling water everywhere. It is even sometimes said that their false gods raise them visibly and that the roof of the house opens itself to let them through it. The simple people do not understand that this is done by magic, and so they say with great admiration "he has wings." [234] The false gods address the Caribs as huéyou-ago in order to flatter them. These false gods do not call them "under the moon" but rather "over the sun," if I may express myself in this way. [263]

The Caribs have never heard about Pythagorus, but nevertheless they seem to be imbued with the idea of metempsychosis, for they have an expression which means "men do not become stones." [189] They do not know what it is to pray to God, although they believe it to be

right to do it. They apologize for not having been accustomed to doing it, and they have borrowed our word for prayer, apourierouteni, but have added the ending of their verb and noun. [433] When lizards, animals, or birds accidentally perch on their houses or near by, as if they were tame, they do not dare to touch them. They say that these are birds which belong to the gods of the boyes, and if the Caribs killed these animals the gods would kill them in turn. [341]

The maboyas are evil spirits. The Caribs have no knowledge of the creation nor of the end of the world, nor of angels nor devils. They fear the maboyas, however, and the oumécou about whom they have told me stories which I consider fables. When I tried to make them understand who the devil was, I called him maboya in order that they would firmly believe what I told them, since they have so much hatred for maboyas. [424]

It has been wrongly said that two Caribs taken to France had renounced their faith. One of these obtained permission to visit his parents and he died there a little while after his return. The other one requested me to live near him until his death, offering to feed me and to have a chapel built for me. [380]

If death is terrible to other men, I have seen that among the Caribs it seems more than terrible. It is so among those who have a conscience filled with remorse over the evil that they know they have done. For, believing in the immortality of the soul, they are fearful of the punishments which might confront them according to their faults. No one can console them at this time. They die with strange grieving and with bitterness of heart. As soon as they are dead, they are painted red, their hair is arranged, and they are wrapped in a good cotton hammock -- if they are important. They then make a round hole in the middle of the house at a depth suitable to the posture that they have given them, which is the posture they had in the womb of their mother. They lower them into the hole, placing them on a plank which has been put there and cover them with another on which they throw the dirt. They shed tears and sing sadly of their sorrow and their regret. This continues late at night and at dawn for a number of days. They don't forget the custom of putting bread and wine upon the grave, nor that of maintaining a fire around the grave for a long time. At the end of a year they return to weep, and lifting up the planks they throw earth on the consumed corpse. They trample down the earth and drink the rest of the day and night. Sometimes they move out of their houses and habitations, as I have seen them do after the death of their captain, Henri Comte. [237]

3: Bound--1 M-4 (no date) 1640 ST13 Callinago ST13
(ca. 1630)

Concerning the Savages Called Caribs

1. Religion

It is not possible to state the true number of the Caribs on Martinique, because they are continually and actively visiting and passing among those of Dominica and the other islands. Sometimes there are many Caribs here and sometimes fewer. It is true that fear and distrust of the French has caused many of them to leave this island, although we are not at war with them (unlike the French of Guadeloupe). No religion is recognized among them. Like the Canadian Indians they have some recognition of the immortality of the soul, because for a few days they give to the souls of the dead clothes, food, and small belongings for their use. I believe that they do not trouble themselves with knowing what becomes of these souls; at least we have never been able to draw this information out of them. Possibly we should learn more if we were to live among them or they among us. At the present time they are greatly separated from us by inaccessible hills, so that we see them rarely and only when they come by sea to trade with the French.

They know by experience, at their cost, that there are spirits, and also the devil whom they call maboya, who sometimes beats them to death. The devil is not strong among them while they are with the French, but when they return they are cruelly tormented as punishment by the devil because of their visit. They also admit that the sign of the cross is able to ward off the maboya. Most of them have an opening in their houses through which they say he enters and leaves. They do not render him any honor that I know, nor offer him sacrifice. They also recognize a god which they call chemin who does not treat them any better than the maboya does. It is necessary that someone among them have a special communication with this spirit because he predicts future events which they can only learn through him. For example, they day before we arrived an old Carib woman told a Frenchman that a great French ship would arrive the next day. What she said was true.

They say that there is a serpent in Dominica which has the power of making itself large or small and that it has a ruby or gem of the same luster in the middle of its forehead. It takes this gem off when

777 it wants to drink and puts it back afterwards. No one may go or dares
825 to go and see it in its cavern unless he has fasted for three days and abstains from his wife. Otherwise he should not be able to see it, or he would be in danger of being bewitched by it, that is to say, killed.

2. Clothing

291 The Caribs go entirely naked without shame, the women as well
341 as the men. I have scolded a captain for this but he only answered:
[342] "That no good for France, good for Carib." They use urucu [cocou: body paint] to redden their bodies which would otherwise be the color of olives. The women sometimes have a kind of legging which extends from the knee to ankle and which they consider to be fashionable. Men and women wear, when they have them, necklaces of glass beads or crystal, or small, well-matched bones.

There is a man whom we called the Pilot who among them is considered to be one of their foremost captains and is an old friend and loyal to the French. When this man came to visit the governor he
[343] wore a hat on his head as a sign that he was beloved and esteemed by the French. The others were as bare-headed as they were naked.
342 They bound their hair, which was not too long, behind their head, and passed through it feathers of the aras [macaw], flamingo, and other birds. These feathers hung from behind, and they also fastened in the same place some trinkets in their manner. They had plucked their beards. Arlet, a brother of the Pilot, and himself a captain,
[30] had some small pieces of brass hanging from his lip, chin, and nose.

3. Occupations

562 Women are unhappy and are treated as slaves, for it is required of them to work in the gardens, tend the family duties, and do everything except go to war, fish, or hunt. If there should be large trees to fell the husband will sometimes take the trouble to do it. They
[675] have many wives, whom they take and leave as they wish. They treat them very badly and sometimes kill them, having as a people no justice and no superior authority. Each one does as he wishes and
679 562 is acquitted of the most horrible crimes if he says that he was "drunk

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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The people of Bataka used to go up to the Pagoua Rock in search of charms. There are steps leading to the base of the rock, and, on its top, a crack that goes through to the inside. That is where the zemkie lives, but if ever you see him it means some one is going to die soon. On the top of the rock there grow all manner of charms, but in particular you may sometimes find there a white flower (zanmite do montagne?) with so sweet a smell that people passing on the highway at the foot of the cliff may easily perceive it. When it is flowering a new blossom comes every hour of the day and every hour another fades and falls. If you are lucky enough to get one of these flowers you may command with it whom you will. You have only to rub it on the palm of your hand, then raise the hand in the direction of a person and speak his name. However far away he may be he will have to obey and come to you. If you go in quest of the flower it is wise to take a white cock, or at least some powdered tobacco, as a gift to the spirit of the rock.

There was one old woman of Bataka whose husband treated her badly and neglected her to run after other women. One day when he was gone fishing she made a lot, a big lot, of cassava bread; and, taking her children with her, went up to the Pagoua Rock, where she was lucky enough to get one of these flowers. With it she went down to the river to bathe, and when she had bathed she rubbed the flower all over her body and flung the remnants to the winds, saying: "Go join your master", which they did, disappearing in that same instant. After this, she and her children took the highway, and went quickly in the direction of Toulaman, now called Londonderry. Soon after they had passed the Castibiscus River she heard her husband running after her with the fish (presumably as a peace offering), but taking her children by the hand she ran and ran until they reached the old Caserne Caraibe (literally, Carib Barracks, but perhaps a mistake for "caverne", a deep cave on the shore between the village of Wesley, or La Soie, and the Londonderry Estate, showing signs of human occupancy, or at least, frequentation). Here she knocked and was admitted just as her husband caught up and made a grab at her. Once safely inside, she shouted to him to go away, as she needed him no longer. There was nothing else for him to do; but as he turned to go he was changed into a bird with yellow beak and claws, called Pierrot Vantar, whose shrill persistent call you will often hear even today. The woman is still inside the cave, together with all the other old Caribs. They will not leave it until the end of the world, though it is said they sometimes come out at night to use their boat (an islet about a hundred yards off shore), for one night I passed there myself as I was going fishing, and when I returned the same way some 2 hours later it had disappeared.

I was told that for the last 20 years at least nobody had attempted to scale the rock, as the white cedar which had grown nearby and helped in the ascent had long since been felled by a windstorm. However, Carib ingenuity and agility overcame all difficulties. A slender sapling whose stem rose some 8 feet distant from the sides of the rock served as prop for a crooked stick, hewn and tied in place from materials growing on the spot, whose other end was made to rest on a narrow projecting ledge opposite and above. This precarious bridge once passed, the summit was reached by holding onto handfuls of plant and vine, or onto knobs of crumbling rock. Alas, I did not find the flower. It may be that it was the wrong season, but, in any case, I certainly should not have been so stupid as to forget that white cock.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
ST13 Callinago ST13

302 urukámbai, "closes the pores, prevents the seawater from drying on their skins, keeps off mosquitoes, and kills chigoes."[33]

114 285 [829] Carib basketry was and still is made from *Ischnosiphon arouma* (Aublet) Koernicke, the "ouallérian" of Breton's or the uarimá of our own time and spelling, and not, as Rouse says, from "Lavanie" (presumably an anglicization of French lavanier, from Carib aléttani, which is the small fan-palm, *Coccothrinax martinicensis* Beccari), whose leaves served as thatching and for making rough sunshades, umbrellas, bags, etc., but could not possibly be employed in the typical wicker pattern and twilled basketry of the Carib. As in Breton's time, so today Carib baskets have a double wall and cover like those of the Taino described by Rouse,[34] but such baskets are and may be rendered waterproof only by the insertion of one or more intermediary layers of leaves. The *Mytilus edulis* is not found in the Lesser Antilles today, and it seems probable that the "mussel" whose shells were used, according to Rouse,[35] in scraping strands employed for basketry, refers to some other species.

● [825]

114 611 Although it may not be possible, as Rouse says, to substantiate Gower's statement that descent was matrilineal among the Island Carib, this feature is at least implicit in the kinship terminology.

114 595 Breton is in disagreement with Rouse's authorities on several points concerning the life cycle. Of a husband's relations with his wives, he says:

> they [the wives] have their turn month and month about, even when they are pregnant; after childbirth they [the husbands] remain without seeing them for a good while, for fear of harming the child.[36]

[843] In seeming contradiction, Rouse says that sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy, and does not mention post-puerperal abstinence.[37] The solution may perhaps be found in the attitude of the modern Carib father, who says that while abstinence during pregnancy is a matter of taste, intercourse during the forty-day period following birth would be injurious to the child. Rouse notes that the accounts of the couvade vary considerably, his own being "taken largely from Davies, with supplemental data from La Borde:" "For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he com-

114 946

33 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
34 *Handbook*, p. 527.
35 *Handbook*, p. 554.
36 Breton, *op. cit.*, p. 278.
37 *Handbook*, p. 557.

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

This small shrubby tree is found in southern Florida, the Bahamas, as well as throughout the West Indian islands. [624?]

The leaves of tan, when moistened and rubbed on an article to be colored, yield a mauve dye. This dye is used in coloring the roots of the lianas called *wiki* (*Anthurium palmatum* or *Monstera pertusa*), employed in the manufacture of the spiral baskets of the Carib women. [386 285]

Specimen citation: 11 (T), 16 (T), 3191.

Pierreana antillana (Eggers) Urban, Symb. Ant. 5: 378. [illegible]
Aschrion antillana Small, North Am. Flora 25: 233. 1911.
Bitter Ash (E). — Simaruba [**].

Bitter Ash is a large forest tree of the Lesser Antilles.

The bark, sap, and wood contain a very bitter principle which is considered by the Carib to be of medicinal value. Chips of the wood are soaked in water which is then drunk for loss of appetite; and the sap (mixed with scrapings from the bottom of the shell of the conch called *lanbi*), expressed from the bark, is applied externally as a cure for yaws (framboesia). [298] [825]

Specimen citation: 163 (T).

Simaruba amara Aublet, Pl. Guian. 2: 859. 1775.
Bois Blanc, Montagne. — *simérouba*.

A large tree known from the West Indies, Guiana, and Brazil.

Bois blanc is a familiar tree of Dominica's moist middle elevation forests where it is considered an important timber species. Because it is a host to insects injurious to citrus, bois blanc is often eliminated from the vicinity of the orchards. The wood is most frequently sawn into boards or converted into charcoal but it may be utilized for all kinds of timber requirements. [314]

The Island Caribs employ bois blanc for all these purposes.

Specimen citation: 1195, 1652.

[**] This Creole name should not be confused with the Carib name *simerouba* which is applied by the Indians to the species which follows.

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

trunk of the tree. Bird-limes are also obtained from other species including the immigrant breadfruit [*Artocarpus altilis* (Park.) Fosb.], whose white sap must be mixed with oil; and l'arali (*Clusia pleiostasia*) whose white sticky sap is definitely inferior as far as this use is concerned. Sticks (about 1 ½ feet long) for fire-drills were formerly cut from the wood of la glu (also from *Bixa orellana*). According to Bertrox (7) sparks, used to ignite dried moss or rotten wood, were produced by twirling one stick in a notch cut in the other. The Hercules beetle (*Dynastes* sp.) is found in rotting trunks of la glu. These huge insects, called *enrehire*, are caught either as a curiosity or for sale to tourists.

Specimen citation: 3362.

ANACARDIACEAE. Cashew Family.

Anacardium occidentale Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 383. 1753.

Cashew. Pomme Noix. — *dwi, diwi, drwi.*

The cashew is a characteristic spreading tree of the West Indies and continental tropical America. It is often cultivated for its fruit, but occurs in a natural state in Dominica at lower elevations.

The swollen receptacle of the fruit is edible and refreshing, and is the source of a juice formerly fermented by the Caribs to make a drink. The kernel or nut is eaten after being roasted. From the leathery fruit-coat a caustic and poisonous oil is obtained which is used either as a cure for dartres, or as a stain or marking ink.

Specimen citation: 660, 3344.

Spondias mombin Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. 371. 1753.

Spondias lutea Linnaeus, Sp. Pl. ed. 2. 613. 1762.

Hog Plum. — Monben, Mombin. — *ébu, kébu, mébi.*

A tree of tropical America frequent in Dominica at lower elevations. The yellow, pleasantly acid fruits of this species are the «myrobalans» of the Columbian voyages. In Jamaica and elsewhere the hog plum is used in the construction of live fences while the strong but light wood is used as a cork substitute (18).